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ABSTRACT

Early tendencies of peace education in Sweden are discussed in this document. The time span is from the second part of the 19th century to the beginning of World War II. Peace education put special emphasis on exposing the contradiction between religious and history education. Religious education preached love and reconciliatory spirit, while history education in Sweden, as elsewhere, was nationalistic and ethnocentric. To "cleanse" history education from chauvinism and from glorifying war was a strong concern of early peace educators. (RJC)

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EARLY TENDENCIES OF PEACE EDUCATION IN SWEDEN

Bengt Thelin

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EARLY TENDENCIES OF PEACE EDUCATION IN SWEDEN

Bengt Thelin

Early tendencies of peace education in Sweden are discussed. The time span is from the second part of the 19th century to the beginning of WW II. Special emphasis was often put on exposing the contradiction between religious and history education. Religious education preached love and reconciliatory spirit, whereas history education was in Sweden as elsewhere very nationalistic and ethnocentric. To "cleanse" history education from chauvinism and from glorifying war was a strong concern of these early "peace educators". The Peace Association of Swedish Schools was founded in 1919.

EARLY TENDENCIES OF PEACE EDUCATION IN SWEDEN

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In the early 1980s in Sweden, as in so many other countries, the cold war provoked a deep fear of a potential war of annihilation. The peace movement grew stronger and stronger and also affected schools and education. The National Board of Education (NBE), at that time the central school authority in Sweden, felt an obligation to meet the demands of many schools for advice and guidance on how to deal with "the peace question". As a Director of Education at the NBE with special responsibility for international issues it fell to me to carry out this new task. Although we had for many years been dealing with "third world solidarity" and "international understanding" in our work with curriculum development and instruction, "peace education" was for me and my colleagues something fairly unknown.

However, after a couple of years, peace education became a more or less established concept and an issue in which many schools, teachers and students were involved. Our working methods at the NBE for several years ahead were to publish articles, produce service materials and to arrange workshops and conferences for teachers and principals on peace education. (1) It didn't take long until we realized that the enterprise which we, a little unsuspectingly, had launched was a rather controversial one. As in several other countries, peace education was an intensively, if intermittently, debated topic in the media. One thing which evidently distinguished the situation in Sweden from that one in most other countries, was that peace education had been initiated and was supported by the central state school authority. (2) It meant that schools, teachers and students devoted to peace and peace education could have their activities officially sanctioned and legitimized.

Another factor relevant to this paper is that we who worked with peace education at the NBE in the 1980s were unaware that this topic had a history. Of course, I myself like so many others who became teachers in the 1950s, was very interested in the developing countries, upset by their poverty and hard conditions and possessed with an ambition to "do something". Know-

ledge about the third world gradually became an element in subjects such as Civics, History and Religion and included in the centrally issued curricula for different levels of the school in Sweden. International solidarity and international understanding became frequent terms and concerns. We called it internationalization and internationalism. These concepts referred almost exclusively to the third world. (Unlike the situation today when these terms have acquired a very strong European and economic meaning.)

To sum up: we worked with international education and our direction was north - south. But we did *not* work with - or even use the term - peace education. As stated previously, it was not until the beginning of the 1980s that this topic and this term became a reality and our work acquired an east - west direction. After some time we also realized that these two directions - international education with its north-south orientation and peace education with its east-west orientation - were closely interrelated.

But let us return to the forgotten past of peace education and to what in the title of this paper is referred to as "early tendencies". The reason why I discovered this past was my intention to write a book with a description and an analysis, a "survey of knowledge", of what peace education stands for. My plan was to begin my writing with a very brief historical background covering the years of my own personal involvement. However, from my initial researches in the material I was carried more and more backwards. To my surprise I found that there really exists a history of peace education with both similarities and differences compared with our own time. The similarities depend on a common origin and the idea that education has a role to play in safeguarding the peace. The differences, on the other hand, are due to the different political, social and pedagogical contexts. Nevertheless there is a common thread, an identity, which deserves to be unravelled. This thread represents an unknown or neglected part of our history of education as a whole.

What I am presenting here are some summarizing glimpses from my Swedish manuscript. The book will hopefully be published next year. My sources mainly consist of journals, magazines and pamphlets published by Swedish trade unions of teachers and peace associations and of text books and curricula. As all this material is published in Swedish and is in addition difficult to find, I have, writing for an international public, to a large degree limited my references. Interested readers for whom Swedish is an understandable language are referred to my forthcoming book.

From the second part of the 19th century peace ideas and peace movements grew stronger and stronger in Europe and in the U.S.A. Aggressive nationalism, militarism and war heroism were severely criticised. Diplomacy and arbitration was called for instead of violence and weapons to solve international conflicts. As a result of improved communications and a more effective news distribution even people living far from the different theatres of war - there were many of them during the second part of the 19th century - became familiar with the cruelity and barbarism of war. Florence Nightingale's work during the Crimean war in the 1850s, Henri Dunant's experiences from the French-Austrian war some years later and his book "Un souvenir de Solferino" (1862) strongly affected public opinion. The same, if not more so, goes for Bertha von Suttner's "Die Waffen nieder" (1889). A new way of thinking on peace and war slowly came about, possibly the beginning of a universal change of paradigm in which we find ourselves today, the conclusion of which could take mankind centuries to reach - if ever.

Visible manifestations of the force of peace ideas - and I am now first and foremost talking about the time before World War One - were a profusion of international and national conferences, proclamations and programmes on peace. Many peace associations were founded, in all more than 400 by the turn of the century. Concrete results among others were The Interparliamentary Union (1889) and The International Peace Bureau (1891). The establishment of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1896 was an event of great importance for peace ideology. Official recognition of this ideology came with the Hague Conferences in 1899 and 1907. In previous centuries governments had negotiated over treaties to *end* wars, but the Hague Conferences were the first international conferences between governments which were convened to discuss how to *preserve* peace. (3)

It is also important to note that women increasingly set out to walk at the head of the peace movements and join together in associations and groups. Not infrequently their call for peace went hand in hand with the call for universal women's suffrage.

In all these peace activities in Sweden and elsewhere I have for this particular period so far found only a few references to education and its potential role in peace promotion. I can imagine that there are three probable reasons for this. Firstly public education in most countries, Sweden included, was still fairly undeveloped. It had not yet developed an opinion building power. Secondly democracy and universal and equal suffrage were still rare phenomena. The popular masses were lacking political influence. Thirdly

peace ideas were very controversial and met with suspicion and hostility from the greater part of the political and military establishment. In such circumstances to call for regular peace education in the schools is likely to have been entirely futile. In the European states and in their educational objectives, if such documents existed at all, "God and the Fatherland" were still the dominating and solely accepted ideology. (4) As for Sweden it was not until 1919 that there appeared, in the centrally issued curriculum, a certain deglorifying of war and war heroes.

In spite of what has just been said it is nonetheless possible to find at least *some* examples of proposals and ideas indicating that "peace" should also be a concern for education and for young people.

At an international peace congress in Paris in 1849, where Victor Hugo was one of the most famous participants, a statement was adopted which has been characterised as the first programme of the international peace movement. (5) It also contains a paragraph in which the participants are requested to work, in their respective countries, for eradicating political prejudices and "hatred that has been learnt". This can, among other things, be achieved by improvements in the upbringing of the younger generation.

Looking at Sweden, an early example of the link between peace idealism and education in this country worth mentioning is a teacher training college for young women that was founded in Stockholm in 1861. Behind this initiative we find the famous author Fredrika Bremer, a very prominent figure both for the early feminist and peace movements. There are no particular traces of what could be called a peace education programme in the syllabuses of this school. Nevertheless it has been testified over the years by many of the young women trained there, that the dominating idea and atmosphere, the culture of the school, was peace, reconciliation and dissociation from violence and war. This peaceful attitude was among other things obvious in the manner of instruction of such subjects as History and Literature. It is in this connection interesting to compare this women's college with the state grammar schools, which at this time were available only for male students. Here we can observe a totally different spirit and atmosphere with a rather one-sided emphasis on force and virility, war and war heroes. (6)

Many young women who had been trained at this college received important political and cultural positions later on in their careers. One was the author Selma Lagerlöf, Nobel Prize winner of literature in 1909. Peace and altruism are salient features in most of her writings. Another was the teacher and school principal Matilda Widegren, who in 1919 together with

some other women initiated a Swedish section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). She also founded a teacher association for peace about which I will give some information later on. A third example is Inga Thorsson, a famous politician and diplomat with a great number of international assignments both for the UN and the Swedish government. She was especially involved and active concerning disarmament matters. Among other things she functioned as the chairman of a group of 27 governmental experts, which in 1981 produced a report on the relationship between disarmament and development. (7)

Let us after this, turn back to the nineteenth century and more precisely to the 1870s, which is the decade when the continental peace movements started to obtain a footing in Sweden. In the vanguard we find some journalists and members of parliament belonging to the liberal and socialistic camps. The Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society (SPAS) was founded in 1883 and is regarded as the oldest still existing peace association of the world. There is no reference made to the school system in its oldest programme. However, from a peace conference some years later there is a statement saying that one of the most immediate tasks of the Nordic peace associations is to reach the younger generation and their teachers in order to "at least in the future" achieve a better understanding on talking about arbitration and neutrality. (8) In my opinion this wording with its reference to the future reflects the moderation and realism mentioned above and which the early peace advocates had to observe in making links between peace and education.

Of greater importance for the years to come was a pamphlet published in 1886 entitled "Hermann Molkenboer. The School and the Peace Thought". It has an introduction by Fridtjuv Berg, one of the central figures of Swedish educational history, president of the Swedish Teacher Trade Union and editor of its journal. Molkenboer was a Dutch teacher. He drew attention to double standards in education. Love, even towards one's enemies, is taught in religious education, while the instruction in history is characterized by national pride and hatred towards other peoples. The cleansing and ennobling of patriotism is a task for the school. If this is to be brought about instruction in History has to be reformed. "The friends of peace and humanity" have, in the different countries, to cooperate. Peace associations must be founded which would establish contacts beyond the national frontiers. The final goal should be to establish an international "Upbringing Council" assigned the task to work for the "harmonizing of history and geography instruction with morality".

Fridtjuv Berg says, after his account of Molkenboer's ideas and activities, that "we are now at the beginning of a movement, which in the future will be regarded as one of the most remarkable events of our time". (9)

How right Berg was, or will be, in his predictions depends, of course, on what we mean by "the future". However, I think we can all agree that peace education, after more than one hundred years, still has a long way to go!

But there are several things worth noting with respect to Molkenboer's - and Berg's - thoughts and proposals. The first is that this little book deserves to be respected as one of the oldest elaborations of a programme for peace education. The second is the importance for a peace element to be introduced into history instruction. This is a feature characteristic of peace education efforts until our own time. The third is Molkenboer's grounding in the Christian faith and the great importance he attached to religion for peace education. This linkage has to a large degree disappeared in the efforts of our own secularized time to work for peace education. The fourth is his idea of an "Upbringing Council" which prefigures both the League of Nation's early efforts to improve textboks in history and geography and still more UNESCO and its more effective work of this kind. The fifth point, finally, to which I would like to pay attention is the firm conviction that school and education have a real role to play when it comes to contributing to peace and to changing the world. "Peace educators" today, hopefully, have - in spite of the reduced possibility of education to influence public opinion - kept this conviction but in a more realistic and modest way.

Molkenboer's ideas, conveyed by the influential Fridtjuv Berg, obviously had an encouraging and clarifying impact on educators engaged in the peace movement. His criticism of double standards in education between religious and history instruction recurs frequently in discussions in subsequent years. The way to resolve this tension is to reform history instruction and to "cleanse" it of chauvinism and one-sided war heroism. Very little was said, from a peace point of view, about how to reform *religious* instruction despite the many accounts of wars, to which the children were exposed when reading texts from the Old Testament.

To say that there was, in the Swedish educational debate, a very swift flood of articles, conference resolutions and declarations on peace education would be an exaggeration. The vast majority of teachers, officials and politicians on different levels responsible for education were probably ignorant or strongly hesitant of any change in line with the thoughts of the peace advocates. Especially I think this goes for the teachers of the grammar schools, where the political and cultural conservatism had a stronger hold

than among the teachers of the compulsory schools. I have in the magazines of their trade union found hardly any references to peace education.

That "the peace question" in education, as early in 1898, could be debated in daily newspapers is illustrated by the following episode. In that particular year the first peace association for women was established in Sweden. In the programme adopted the following was stated as point one: "Upbringing has to be cleansed from war elements. War plays and war toys must be banned. The samg goes for glorifying of the warriors and wars of which both literature and history are guilty." (10) Instead of being dominated by wars, history instruction must pay attention to the cultural and peaceful development.

In one of the conservative newspapers in Stockholm this programme was met by great indignation. (11) Above all, there was opposition to the proposal that children should be taught to admire peaceful achievements more than those carried out by war heroes like Alexander, Gustavus Adolphus or Napoleon. The article, in an indirect but clear way, compared love for peace with treason, and preparation for war with patriotism. Reading this, one easily recalls the vulgar and ironic slogan from the cold war in the 1970s and 80s: "It's better to be dead than red".

Because of the tension between Sweden and Norway, linked together in a political union and ruled by the same king, the turn of the century was a very critical period in Nordic history. However, in 1905 a peaceful agreement was reached and the union dissolved without war. It would, of course, be of interest to know to what degree either war or peace propaganda occurred in the class rooms during the critical months prior to the agreement. The Swedish people was divided into hawks and doves. But the teacher magazines are very silent on this topic. Although the debate was probably intensive both among teachers and students the sources available do not, as far as I have found, give any information on this. The teachers are likely to have imposed moderation on themselves.

An attempt made by some nationalistic Swedes to boycott a Nordic teacher conference in 1905 with participation by Norwegians was a failure. (12) The conference took place in Copenhagen with a great number of Swedes present. Referring to the contradiction mentioned above between a Christian spirit of reconciliation and an aggressive nationalism in education it is evident that, in this particular situation, the former luckily proved the stronger.

To what degree teachers devoted to peace played a role in forming public opinion is, of course, difficult to know. Worth saying, however, is that the

above mentioned Fridtjuv Berg was one of the most influential doves. He was also at this time appointed minister of education.

The women's peace association, to which I have already made reference, worked on indefatigably. For instance they established a "pedagogical section" in order, among other things, to fight for a reformed subject of history. Like other "peace friends" they were highly inspired by Bertha von Suttner, who several times visited Sweden. Her friendship to Alfred Nobel is well known. So is her role in Nobel's decision to set up a special peace prize, which later on, in 1905, was given to von Suttner, who in Sweden was honored as "the queen of the peace friend's empire".

A person greatly influenced by the Austrian author was the famous feminist and author Ellen Key. She presented and interpreted von Suttner's thinking in several articles. In one of them she gives an account of von Suttner's conviction, that an ethical and social evolution will take place leading to an end of all wars. (13) The means to reaching this goal is "a slow change, generation after generation, during which fostering peace love will take place in the same way as, in times past, there existed a fostering war love". Through this process of upbringing, the old ideals, according to von Suttner's view, will gradually wither away and the new ideals increase their vital force. War is not a natural force and von Suttner pleads for arbitration courts and neutrality.

Central to the thoughts of von Suttner, like so many others, is the discussion over the contradiction between patriotic love and love of mankind. She believes in the possibility of fostering generations to "the peace thought" and she opposes engaging young people and children in the defence movement. Concerning women she holds them jointly responsible for war because they have not stopped the men. In a lecture some years later she expresses her belief in education "as the first means to prevent war" and to eradicate "the wild beast heritage" in which wars have their origin. (14)

The outbreak of World War One in 1914 caused tremendous distress and disappointment to all people engaged in war prevention work. Particularly those working for a reformed and peace oriented education in the different countries, mostly women, must have experienced the outbreak of the Great War as a tragic defeat. The more surprising and admirable it is that the women, when the initial paralysis had worn off, succeeded in arranging a conference with more than 2000 participants from 12 countries. (15) One of the leading figures of the conference, which took place in the Hague in 1915, was the American woman Jane Addams, who in 1931 was awarded Nobel's peace prize.

From Sweden about 15 women took part in the conference, among them the pacifist journalist and author Elin Wägner, who wrote reports on what was going on in the Hague for a Swedish magazine. Another was the above mentioned teacher Matilda Widegren, who now more and more appears as a leader and organizer of the peace minded Swedish teachers.

The Hague Conference passed a great number of peace resolutions which were delivered to the belligerent and also to the neutral states after the conference by special delegations. One of the resolutions was entitled "The education of children" and reads as follows: "This International Congress of Women urges the necessity of so directing the education of children that their thoughts and desires may be directed towards the ideal of constructive peace". (16) In my opinion a resolution of this kind was an effective way of putting education for peace on the international agenda. I also think it is correct to say that the Great War functioned as a driving force in convincing public opinion to look upon education as a means for bringing about a changed mentality, a mentality directed towards a world released from war.

At least in Sweden there are indications that efforts were now being intensified to make peace education more visible and active, maybe also a bit more self confident. In fact the last years of the 1910s and the first of the 1920s mean something of a change. A threshold was crossed. I now intend to support this statement with some examples of events and actions taken and then, finally, to summarise, describe and analyse the situation up until the end of the 1930s.

The Swedish Peace and Arbitration Association at a congress in 1915 passed a resolution among several others - resolutions were at that time a frequently used way of influencing public opinion - in which was requested a "change of education and upbringing" emphasizing the solidarity and fraternity of different peoples and individuals and also a realisation of the principles of democracy. (17) At the same congress SPAS pointed to "the military education of the peoples" as one of the causes of wars. For their youth organization one of the goals mentioned was fighting against "false virility and perverted femininity". The youth members should rather be occupied with planting trees and bushes and taught to honour nature. (18) Although SPAS evidently was not very successful in putting these principles into practice, their idea of a connection between "peace and nature" in upbringing is worth noting as a very early example of what today, by many "peace educators", is regarded as a both necessary and self evident linkage as instanced today in the name of our PEC-magazine "Peace, Environment and Education". A Swede who very early paid attention to the close relationship

between these two concepts was, by the way, the above mentioned authress Elin Wägner.

Influenced by the Hague Conference and the resolution passed there, which has already been quoted, two of the participants, Matilda Widegren and Fanny Petterson, established in 1916 the Peace group of Swedish Female Teachers. In that way the peace education movement in Sweden got a particular organization - no matter how small it was - from which it could carry out its activities such as information lectures and discussion meetings. After a few years male teachers also wanted to be members of the group, which made it necessary to change the name to The Swedish School's Peace Association (SSPA) (Svenska skolornas fredsförening).

At the same time, in 1919, a new national curriculum (undervisningsplan) for compulsory school was issued by the government. From a general perspective this curriculum resulted in an important modernization both for the content and method of Swedish school education. Of special interest in our connection are goals and guidelines formulated for the subject of history. In the goal it is stated that instruction shall be adopted according to the age and mental development of each child and that their teaching should make them familiar with personalities and events which have contributed to *cultural* development. A basis should be laid for a *sound* patriotism and for good citizenship. (The two words are emphasized by me). (19) For the first time on this level it is prescribed that some time shall also be given to world history. (20) In the guidelines it is said that history instruction has to be carried out in such a way, "that its leading thread is peaceful cultural and societal development". Children should be informed that war is suffering but also be made aware of the differences between defensive war and war waged to conquer other states. The history teacher shall endeavour to counteract hatred and hostility towards other peoples and promote the insight that peace and mutual understanding is a primary condition for the common advance of mankind. Children must be taught that in history there also exist peace heroes, brave personalities who have promoted the development of their country and therefore deserve its gratitude and admiration. (21)

There is also an interesting reference to the mother tongue teaching. "Reading texts" glorifying war shall be avoided, because such texts can counteract the endeavours to peaceful coexistence between individuals and peoples. (22)

The 1919 curriculum and the syllabuses of the history and the mother tongue can certainly not be regarded as the official response solely to the requests of the peace minded teachers. Peace and war preventing work

experienced in the years after World War One. Nevertheless it seems to be evident that their work effectively contributed to an awakening of a common awareness and also to a focusing on the central role of history instruction. As demonstrated above this had been a central topic of the peace education movement for half a century.

Articles and information paragraphs on peace and peace education in the magazines of the teachers trade unions now start to become more frequent. Above all this goes for "Lärarinneförbundet", which was edited by the Association of the Female Teachers. In fact this publication is a main source on peace education during the 20s and 30s.

An early initiative taken by the SSPA, led by Matilda Widegren, was to introduce a special Peace Day for Swedish schools. The association got this idea from the U.S.A. but still more from from Wales. There, starting in 1922, an annual message called the Message of Peace and Good Will was delivered, from 1924 also broadcasted, to a great number of overseas countries. The day chosen was the 18th of May, because on this date the first Peace Conference opened in the Hague in 1899. This initiative is one of the oldest examples of an international network for peace among youth. The Swedish association immediately jumped at the idea and every year since 1923 the Message of Peace and Good Will was translated and delivered to schools in Sweden to be cited at the morning prayers on the 18th of May. (23)

The Peace Day meant that traditional and nationalistic commemorations, which were celebrated in schools, above all the anniversaries of the death of the kings Gustavus II Adolphus (November 6th) and Charles XII (November 30th) were complemented. It has not, however, so far been possible to find out how many schools took up the new day in their commemoration calendar. That it was celebrated, at least in some places, as late as at the beginning of the 1960s is evident by oral testimony given to me. Other days with a peace content, annually celebrated in several schools, were the day of the armistice of World War One, November 11th, and the day in September when the League of Nations assembled.

An initiative taken by the SSPA was a questionnaire "to the educators of our country" on peace education delivered in 1920. Unfortunately, I can here say only a few words about this interesting project, thoroughly presented in a booklet published by the SSPA. (24) Of the 150 teachers answering the questionnaire only 6 wanted peace education to be an independent subject in its own right. This problem, with which we are often confronted today, is consequently an old one. Among the reasons presented against a separate

subject there was the view that such a subject could run the risk of being "tendentious", abstract and wrenched from its natural context, evidently the history.

An interesting aspect of the questionnaire, which was delivered to different types of schools, is that more than two thirds of the answers emanated from male teachers. This surprises the rapporteur, who is well aware of the leading role female teachers played in promoting peace education. He can't find any explanation but says that the female answers show an "intensive interest" and that they, from a qualitative point of view, are "rather valuable". Could an explanation of the male dominance be that the female teachers still had a more subordinated position among their colleagues, especially when it comes to functioning as a representative of the school?

Another activity of the SSPA was a series of booklets on peace and international topics. They had an important role to play as information material for teachers. It is likely that neither the teacher training colleges nor the univerities paid any special attention to anything called peace education. All the more important then for the SSPA to provide some sort of in-service teacher training for interested colleagues.

Another instrument was summer courses arranged every second year during this period, sometimes in cooperation with sister associations in the other Nordic countries. Some opportunities were, however, given to leading peace educators to address also other colleagues than those with a special interest in peace matters. This can be verified by printed reports from the big general teacher congresses and school meetings during this period, both Swedish and Nordic.

The 1930s were troubled years for the peace education movement, as for the peace movement as a whole. The shortcomings of the League of Nations, on which so much hope and optimism had been attached, caused disappointment and pessimism. The growth of dictatorships and aggressive nationalism were worrying phenomena and impaired the "market" for peace and reconciliation education in schools. Instead defence education was introduced, which caused a dilemma for some peace minded teachers.

There is much more that could be said from a peace education perspective about this particular situation and also more about the activities during the earlier more auspicious peroid, before the clouds of a coming second world war began to darken the European scene. I have, however, to be content with the glimpses given, hoping that there will be opportunities subsequently to

deal with these "early tendencies" in a more thorough way. Now to some concluding reflections.

A characteristic of the peace education movement, particularly in the 20s, was its deep confidence in education as an effective instrument for the prevention of war and the safeguarding of peace. An indication of this was the concentration on the subject of history. The conviction was very firm that a reformed instruction in history in the long term could make a very valuable contribution to eliminating an ancient war and weapon culture. Today we may have some difficulties in imaging how strong this culture was and what a grip it had on people's minds two or three generations ago. For contemporary peace education this concentration on history is normally not a main concern, but I think it is correct to say that the pioneers of peace education in this respect contributed to a new way of thinking.

It was not only the devoted peace teachers who had a confident and optimistic view of education as an instrument for peace. At an international teacher congress in Edinburgh in 1925, arranged by the World Federation of Teachers' Associations, the conviction was expressed, that if five million teachers of the world were against wars they could also effectively contribute to prevent them. At the same congress the title of one of the lectures was "The hope of mankind lays in the upbringing for peace". (25)

I have in my paper several times used the terms "peace minded teachers", "peace educators" and "peace teachers" to denote this particular category of people. A question to pose is how far did they go as *teachers* in order to promote their ideals in their daily work. How much did they dare to demonstrate and put into practice their engagement? Were their concerns more of peace than of education and were their energies primarily directed outside of the school? The sources available do not, as far as I have found, tell us very much about their didactic practise or their professionalism with respect to the peace topic. My impression is that peace education at that time had more of a pleading and preaching character than a pedagogical one. However, these are certainly questions still worth considering for our generation when we are dealing with peace education in theory and practise.

Finally, let me also say that peace education during all the years covered in this paper is concerned exclusively with peace and war on the "macro" level. It is the open, bloody war, which was the concern. Only in exceptional cases were references made to the "micro" level, to "war" and to violence within societies and families. What these peace pioneers worked for was, in other words, first and foremost what we today would call the negative peace.

Also peace education, like other pedagogical tendencies, has passed through a process of development. It has a history of its own. This history remains, to a large degree, unwritten, at least in Sweden. Nevertheless it forms an important, although neglected, part of our educational history. What I have presented here are only some glimpses. This history is worth research and investigation and can certainly be of great value for the peace educators of today when it comes to getting a perspective on their efforts.

Notes

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2 Bjerstedt, 1988, pp. 30-32.
3 World Encyclopedia of Peace, Vol. 1, p. 630.
4 Tingsten, 1969.
5 Fogelström, 1983, p. 16.
6 Ekbom, 1991. Thanks to Ekbom's book this heritage from Fredrika Bremer is rescued from oblivion. Cf. Florin & Johansson, 1993, pp. 47-53.
7 Ekbom, 1991; Thorsson, 1984.
8 Fogelström, 1983, p. 50.
9 Berg, 1886, p. 6.
10 Larsson, 1985, p. 26.
11 Larsson, 1986, p. 28.
12 Tidning för Sveriges Läroverk, 1905, Nos. 11,12,17.
13 Key, 1899, pp. 3-4.
14 Key, 1914, p. 4.
15 Larsson, 1985, pp. 69-84.
16 Larsson, 1985, p. 285.
17 Fogelström, 1983, p. 148.
18 Fogelström, 1983, pp. 149-150.
19 Undervisningsplanen 1919, p. 100.
20 Undervisningsplanen 1919, p. 101.
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22 Undervisningsplanen 1919, p. 52.
23 Lärarinneförbundet, 1933, Nos. 12 and 17.
24 Fredsundervisning inom skolan.
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